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The eight addresses delivered at the opening session of the 1967 Atlanta workshop by three teachers, three teacher educators, one curriculum advisor, and one college president postulate that working with disadvantaged youth requires special training of teachers and schools and that this requirement needs to be exposed. Problems of both the disadvantaged student and his teacher are explained generally in categories, such as culture shock, and more particularly in a few teacher experiences, with the goal of convincing educators that special teacher training is needed and that it is the responsibility of the school to reach out to understand the community and student, to be flexible in its programs, and to generate a better social order where the community has failed. Three areas for teacher training improvement recurred through the speeches: understanding the student and his potential, as in teacher training in the disadvantaged environment and exposure to already successful programs; implementing this understanding through continued supervisory help in inservice teaching and knowledge of how to individualize instruction creatively; and teacher recognition of his own reactions and feelings through participation in such activities as T Groups. (LP)

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REPORT/TWO

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HE NDEA NATIONAL INSTITUTE

advanced study in teaching disadvantaged youth

From the Teachers of Teachers:

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WHAT TEACHERS NEED TO KNOW

Doxey A. Wilkerson

I am expected to tell you what teachers need to know and to be able to do in order to function effectively with socially disadvantaged children. Following this morning's session, I was strongly of the opinion (and still am, somewhat) that you might well dispense with my speech. The answer was most effectively given by the ladies [Chapman, Burbridge, Williams] on the panel, and much more dramatically than I can give it because it grew out of their classroom experiences. But at least let me address myself to some hunches in this area.

Let us define our frame of reference. When we talk about disadvantaged children in the Atlanta area, I take it we are talking mainly about lower-class Negro children who live in the ghetto and who are having difficulties in school, presumably as a result of the negative influences of their environment. When we talk

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THE ATLANTA AREA WORKSHOP
On Preparing Teachers to Work with Disadvantaged Youth

From the Teachers:

Rosa Chapman

Gail Burbridge

Sharon Kaye Williams

Implications for Teacher Education

David E. Day

SP002376

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WORKING WITH DISADVANTAGED CHILDREN: THE TEACHER'S VIEWPOINT

Rosa Chapman

I believe that it is the responsibility of the school to go into the community and plan for the particular needs of that community, to seek out its problems and define its goals. If this is done, the classroom teacher can realize the needs of the families in the community and thus adopt her methods to that of the family and child. In order for a teacher to establish good rapport with a family, she has to become a part of the community; she has to become almost "deprived" herself in an effort to understand each child's problem. Such a teacher, with such attitudes, can relate to the children in the classroom as individuals, not as a group. Each child is different. He does not act or respond to the same problem in the same manner as others do.

As a teacher, I know that a child from a deprived home may not have both parents at home. Sometimes the mother is home; the father is absent most of the time, if not always. To the male child, particularly, this situation is disastrous. The boy child, more than the girl child, needs a definite figure by which to mold himself. The girl is more secure because her mother may be home and her teacher is usually female. One significant thing for the school to do therefore immediately appears: the school ought to place more male teachers in the early grades of schools with disadvantaged children. This might be done on a team basis, with male and female teachers working together in the school, serving the dual purpose of instructors and models.

More direct association with children during the preservice or student teaching program will acquaint a prospective teacher with the fortunate as well as unfortunate aspects of teaching disadvantaged children. Such association will help a teacher realize that her job will be more than an 8:30 to 3:00 "baby-sitting" duty.

More student aide programs are worth investigating and initiating for those who may decide early in their career training to prepare for teaching. I feel that the allotted six weeks or nine weeks is not sufficient to determine if one will become a good teacher. The student teaching period is usually scheduled too late in a college program for one to think seriously of alternatives, should failure or disillusionment occur. Often teaching may be forced, behaviorally speaking, upon a disillusioned student teacher who must accept the teaching profession in order to complete his college program and graduate within the four or five years allotted for college work.

A teacher's training program should never end, whether she be a first-year teacher or a fifth-year teacher; actually, a teacher has to continue training throughout her teaching career. More child study or human behavior programs should be initiated for the growing teaching professional, and these should be required of all teachers. Such courses would aid the teacher to understand the problems of the community in which she works. If, as has been quoted, "the school is an institution which should reflect the goals of education," then the child should reflect the uniqueness and importance of the classroom teacher.

Recently I was involved in a situation with a child from a deprived home who enjoyed getting attention any way that he possibly could—even at the expense of others. On several occasions I was asked to release this child from his class studies so that he could clean the school grounds as punishment. I resented this, because the child was just beginning to show great interest in his class studies and his attendance had improved greatly. Now all of you here tell me: What is a teacher to do in a situation like this? Is she to reflect the goals of her administrators, or the goals of education? This boy is now in a juvenile home. I wonder—if he had had the chance to continue his

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about "working successfully" with such children, I assume that we mean getting them to learn—guiding the progressive development of important human beings, academically, socially, emotionally. We reject the much-too-common custodial view of "working successfully" with these children as a measure of success.

Underlying the discussion, (that of our whole workshop, I think) is the assumption—most eloquently expressed by Dr. Schueler—that working successfully with lower-class Negro children in inner-city schools requires some special knowledges, special abilities, and special feelings which may or may not be significant for teachers of more advantaged children. Incidentally, I am coming more and more to the view that advantaged children don't need good teachers anyway. The failures of their school are generally compensated for by their homes. Disadvantaged children, on the contrary, are in a situation where the school must compensate for inadequacies in their homes. The successes of children in suburban areas are not attributable mainly to the skills and effectiveness of their teachers, but largely to the effectiveness of their homes.

For any teacher—and by teacher I mean "guider of learning"—there are certain professional insights and skills that are required equipment. Teachers must be able to conceive and formulate growth objectives which are to be outcomes of what they are doing in school. They must be able to select learning activities and instructional materials for furthering those goals. They must be able to organize such learning activities into meaningful instructional experiences, to appraise the outcomes, and to evaluate the effectiveness of what has been done.

Our concern here, however, is with the special teacher knowledges and behaviors necessary for the education of the population group which we are calling "disadvantaged children." I wish I could tell you with certainty the precise knowledges, skills, and behaviors of teachers which would make for effective learning by disadvantaged children; but you know as well as I do that the science of education has not developed to this point. Most of what we are doing is on the basis of hunches. Little has been tested systematically. When it comes to the education of disadvantaged children, we enter into a realm where there are many conflicting views, stemming from different experiences, outlooks, and psychological orientations.

Since implicitly or not, prescription must follow diagnosis, let me begin by calling attention to what appear to be some of the special instructional problems to which teachers must address themselves in the inner-city school. I have chosen to focus on learning problems of the learner as the teacher sees them.

First and in a sense encompassing all the rest, is the pattern of low achievement that we find characteristic of depressed-area schools. Children are not learning at the pace and to the degree which we have come to expect as the norm. They don't respond in the accustomed way to the patterns of treatment which we've habituated ourselves to using in school.

Second is the low academic motivation characteristic of many of these children. Not only are they not learning very well, but they don't care to, and are not eager to learn. They don't respond to the usual academic rewards and punishments that we offer. They evince little concern for actually acquiring the knowledges and skills that we are trying to give them.

Third and still related—indeed these learning problems are all interrelated—is the question of low self-esteem, poor ego control, or negative self-concept. These children have learned from their experiences that they "just don't have it." They don't anticipate that they are going to be able to do what we're demanding that they do in the school. Sometimes they evince such attitudes by quiet withdrawal and self-abnegation; sometimes, more healthfully by rebellion and aggressive revolt. The feeling that "we just don't have it" is not an uncommon one; on the contrary, it's highly common among the youngsters that we're speaking of as our target population.

Fourth is what we euphemistically call "norm-varying conduct," or more commonly, "disciplinary problems." I have been impressed with many of the surveys which have suggested that in many of the slum schools, eighty per cent or more of the time is spent trying to keep the kids from climbing the walls. This fact alone, if it is true, is enough to explain inadequate achievement. Obviously not much time is devoted to instruction; rather the time is largely spent in trying to curb unruly conduct. It is chiefly in relation to this conduct that new teachers experience the phenomenon of "culture shock."

Fifth is the problem of a conflict with the home. Although it manifests itself in different ways, perhaps most generally it shows up as meager parental support of the school program. We have learned that we don't go very far in any of our school programs unless they are supported by the families from which the youngsters come; and if the home is indifferent or is working at cross-purposes from the school, our success in the school is affected. At times this school-home alienation is manifested in direct and overt conflict, as currently in New York City's Harlem; perhaps this is not characteristic yet in Atlanta.

Here then are five main problem areas to which teacher education for disadvantaged children should be addressed. The questions before us now are: What do teachers need to know in order to work with them effectively? What do they need to be able to do? What I have to say about these questions is largely supportive of what was so effectively said in the panel [Chapman, Burbridge, Williams].

There are two areas of teacher behavior and knowledge which I think we might posit as a framework for the discussion. One has to do with insights stemming from the natural, behavorial, and social sciences—biology, anthropology, psychology, sociology, history. The other area includes insights and skills of a professional character, stemming from education.

In the behavioral and social sciences area, it is especially important for teachers to understand the biological and social forces which shape human development. What makes children develop the way they do? What can make them develop the way we would like them to? We might ask, for example: What is the genesis of intellectual ability? How does it develop? What influences shape its development? Professionally, it's important for teachers of disadvantaged children to be freed from what has traditionally been taught about a "fixed intelligence" based upon genetic inheritance. Far too long has this now outmoded belief provided us with a rationale for not teaching kids who score low on intelligence tests. Teachers need to become acquainted with some of the work of Piaget and of Hunt, commonly referred to as the "interactionist view" of the development of the intellectual function. This view holds that the quality of intellectual function is not determined by the genes but by the nature of the organism's encounters with his environment. The nature of these interactions determines in large measure the course and pace of the development of intellectual function.

Related is the question of achievement—expectation. Most of us have learned that, among other things, pupil behavior is a function of teacher behavior, often in ways that we sometimes don't perceive. I suspect you have seen some of the studies which have shown that when kids seem to think that their teachers expect them to learn, they do learn. And when youngsters perceive that their teachers are not expecting them to learn, they don't.

I've always been fascinated by that interesting experiment conducted at the University of North Dakota by graduate students of psychology. Given rats to run through a maze, they were to see how long it took their rats to learn to run the maze without error. One group of students was told that their rats were found after pretesting to be "maze-bright"; the other group of students was told that their rats were "maze-dull." The rats that the psychology graduate students *thought* were "maze-bright" learned to run the maze faster than the rats *thought* to be "maze-dull." Now if you ask me to explain how the experimenters conveyed to their subjects their differing expectations and got corresponding feedback, I would be hard-pressed. But if somehow it got over to the rats, then I'm sure we should have little difficulty in conveying our expectations to youngsters in a classroom. If we have access to intelligence test scores (as most of us do) which we assume tell us something about the genetic antecedents of these youngsters—or at least limitations placed by a "fixed intelligence" upon their potential for achievement—we tend to expect them to perform in accordance with their I.Q. ratings. Pupils tend, indeed, to perform in accordance with our expectations.

In respectable professional circles, we no longer call upon the I.Q. to rationalize our failures. (We may do it

interest in the classroom, would he have gone into that juvenile home? Maybe; but I believe the time for such action would have been delayed. It seems to me that any planning group, after reaching a decision on how to carry out a program for deprived children, must be certain that each school administrator involved understands the goals of this particular program and agrees to abide by it.

A teacher must plan the child's program so that he can experience acceptance, security, love, and freedom for creativity and accomplishment. A teacher must not assume anything! Patience and guidance should be paramount with all teachers, but especially with those teaching deprived children. A teacher's method of teaching must be constantly reviewed and evaluated in order to recognize the problems and meet the needs of all the children. As a child grows, so must a teacher's method grow. Continuing in-service programs of learning for the teacher are always needed.

In planning a program for the deprived—whether culturally, economically, or socially deprived—we must assume that the home and school are two different systems. They are different in the behavior that they demand of children and the rewards they offer. Further, we find that the child can function in these two systems successfully, if two conditions are fulfilled: first, the child must have a clear picture of the meaning of the school; second, the home must give its support to the school. So let us plan for the deprived child. Let us meet the demands of each of these conditions—or forget about all programs of working with the disadvantaged child and call the whole thing off!

Gail Burbridge

Two years ago I began my teaching assignment at West Fulton (Georgia) with roughly equal portions of enthusiasm and ignorance. Students came without homework, and I scolded; I thought students should do homework. I soon found out that some had no place to do their homework. Some were working until after *my* bedtime with no opportunity to do their work at home. I had to learn that useful homework must be provided in the classroom for these students that couldn't work at home.

When children came late I was offended. When children came to my classroom and slept, I was offended; I woke up the sleepers. When children squirmed and moved all during class, I was bothered; I made them stay still. As a result, I woke up the sleepers and put the squirmers to sleep.

The first time a student used vulgar language I was caught completely off guard. Some of these students I sent to the principal. I think I might have dealt with them better if I had known some of the things I now know about these children and their language patterns. Before I take action now, I first judge whether the outburst is disturbing the possibility for learning in the classroom or not. At first, however, I was just concerned with those things I thought were inappropriate—"bad for young children." I thought I could

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covertly, but we don't say it out loud because the I.Q. has lost its aura.) In recent years, however, we have developed another rationalization that is just as good if not better. We now say: This child may have come into the world with as much intellectual potential as any child in the universe, but unfortunately he has been so scarred by his depressed home and community experiences, his limited experiential opportunities, the negative attitudinal influences which have played a role in his development, that he is culturally deprived. He is thus incapable of learning what we want him to learn in school. We are off the hook again, for implicit is the assumption that limitations stemming from this background are almost as fixed as we used to think the I.Q. was.

In the area of behavioral science understanding, teachers need to know something of experimental work and demonstrations which have shown that many youngsters who have been scarred by their pre-school social experiences, coming to school not so well equipped for its work as children from more advantaged homes, nevertheless can and do achieve and perform well academically when given appropriate experiences in school.

I was much interested in the most recent follow-up on the Skeels-Skodak "Iowa Studies." Back in the '30's and early '40's, Skeels and Skodak were working with some kids in orphanages. They were poor kids. They'd all been tested and adjudged mentally retarded. Since it was too crowded in the orphanage, about half of them were transferred to a special institution for kids whose intellectual ability was adjudged severely limited, kids classified as "feeble-minded." After a period of time, it was found that the kids who had been put into this institution had increased their I.Q. Skeels and Skodak hypothesized that the environment in the institution for the feeble-minded was considerably more stimulating than that of the orphanage.

In time, some of these youngsters were placed in foster homes whereas others remained in the institutions. They have been followed up periodically ever since. In the last follow-up—two or three years ago when they were about 25 or 30 years old—Skeels and Skodak discovered sharp contrasts between those who were placed in foster homes and those who were not. Among those who did not go into foster homes, not a single one has finished elementary school. One or two have some kind of menial job; none is self-supporting. All have been wards of the state for a long, long time. None have married; several have died. It is a sorry picture of some thoroughly defeated youngsters.

Among the other group who tested lower than this control group to begin with and who went into foster homes, all are self-supporting. All have achieved various degrees of education: one of them finished college; several had one or two years of college; most of them have finished high school. None are wards of the state; many of them are married. One young lady who had an initial I.Q. of 35 now has two children, one of whom tests at an I.Q. of 128 and the other at 107. This

is a picture of human beings one would never assume once belonged to the "feeble-minded" class. They are successful, effective, human beings. The difference between the two groups is that they had different kinds of life experience, sharply contrasting encounters with their environment.

There is considerable evidence that even after children have entered school, learning disadvantages which stem from social limitations can be overcome. Illustrative is a demonstration by Dr. Kenneth Clark with children from Harlem who were brought into his northside Center for Child Development. These Negro and Puerto Rican youngsters had all the social disabilities we are talking about. Five days a week, one hour a day, they were given special remedial work in reading. At the end of a five-week period, the *average* child there had raised his reading level by 2.7 grade levels. In the fall these youngsters went back to their regular schools. At the end of nine months they were tested again; the average gain at the end of nine months was zero.

It is obvious that we are dealing with something here that is not just the function of the learner's potential for development; it is rather a function of the experiences with which the learner is confronted. There are many evidences that learning handicaps born of social disability are reversible, given appropriate school experiences to this end. Teachers need to know this evidence. I have emphasized this area of behavioral science understanding because I know how fundamental it is for teachers to have confidence that their pupils can learn.

Another area that I think warrants special emphasis in teacher education has to do with the socialization process, particularly primary socialization within the family and its impact upon the developing youngster. How does he develop his language patterns, his values, his norms of conduct? What are the social influences which are involved here? How did they happen to be? A teacher who is not alien to lower-class populations within the urban ghetto but who has studied and has had some field experiences with them, who understands and empathizes with the population we're talking about, is better able to avoid some of the culture shock already described, which is such a common experience of many teachers moving into ghetto schools. If he can understand some of the non-normative behavior among ghetto kids, the teacher is able to realize that the children are reacting, not against him but against the frustrations of their whole life experiences. Teachers need to have some systematic study of the subculture which tends to prevail in the inner-city community.

Another area in which teachers need knowledge is Negro history. Most of the discussions that we read today concerning Negro self-concept emphasize that many of these youngsters see failure in their families from birth to death. They don't have success models at home because their parents themselves have been defeated. They are told frequently "You ain't nothing, and you ain't going no place." Their life experiences say this to them. After they come into the school situation, confronted only with our conventional approaches to teaching, they fail. They soon learn that they're "nobody." They even generalize that Negroes are "nobody" and "are going no place." Their school experiences tend to reinforce the negative impact of their slum environment.

Although I'm not trying to suggest a prescription for dealing with this problem of self-concept, I do think that some contribution can be made by teachers who know something about Negro history, about the Negro's changing relations to American society, and about their African background. I have been impressed with how meaningful it seems to be to some Negro children to learn that their forefathers in Africa were not just savages running around like wild animals, but were noble men and women of great empires in developing cultures. It is also important to communicate to these kids the significant role played by outstanding individuals as well as by masses of Negroes in the history of the United States. It would be especially important for them to know something of the Negro's relation to the society after the Civil War and Reconstruction, how the promise of reconstruction was defeated and Negroes were pushed back into virtual slavery, a position which many people in our country were convinced was permanent. Also included should be the whole series of events since those times, when Negroes have been getting out of "their place" and conducting such vigorous and effective struggles and campaigns as those of the Civil Rights Movement in the 1960's.

The teacher who has an understanding of the processes of social change, the influences involved, and their reflection in the developing relations of Negroes to American society, is better equipped to let her children know that their inferior status in the society is a result of factors attributable not to their nature, but to impersonal and conscious social forces; and that these forces can be and are in the process of being changed. I'm inclined to think that a teacher who can convey such understandings to Negro children because she has the relevant knowledge is most likely to enable such youngsters to see themselves more objectively in relationship to the social structure of which they're a part and to give them some measure of confidence in a future for each of them. She can get them to understand that what now prevails has not always prevailed, nor will it; and that they can play a role in effecting this change.

Now this is by no means an exhaustive list of behavioral and social science knowledges which I think are important for teachers of disadvantaged children to know; they are but illustrative. We need to augment substantially the liberal education of teachers, to broaden their intellectual horizons, liberating them from the fetters of unscientific beliefs and social myths. We need to make them more at home with important areas of their culture and to give them some of the

protect some children in the classroom from the same children they walked home with and played with after school.

I was disturbed by poor attendance. When a child came back after an absence I spoke shortly with him about the need for coming to school, the need for an education, the need for preparing himself to get ahead in this world. It never occurred to me to welcome him back, to concentrate on giving him work in the classroom that would make him feel that his time spent there *was* more valuable than that spent in whatever way he was spending it outside the classroom. When I now teach children that I see only occasionally, I make it a point of welcoming them when they do come back, rather than making it yet more unpleasant for them to be there.

In short, at the beginning of teaching I didn't know how to distinguish between behavior that seemed annoying or inappropriate, and behavior that actually interfered with learning. As a corollary to this, I didn't feel able to evaluate my own success in teaching children whom I found several years behind grade level in language skills. I know where I had found them, but I didn't know where I might reasonably be expected to take them in one year.

What I learned in my first year I learned from my principal and other experienced teachers on the staff at West Fulton. Unfortunately too much of this kind of learning comes after the fact, after a precious relationship with a child may have been lost.

It seems to me that this is not a very economical way for a teacher to learn her art. So I would like to propose several improvements.

I would suggest:

First, that the schools of education attempt early to identify those among their students with an interest in and the temperament for teaching in deprived areas. Second, that they provide these students with more and more practical training in psychology and sociology. Third, that they offer well-supervised classroom internships in deprived neighborhoods. Fourth, that early in-service programs stress the role of supervisors to support, evaluate, and criticize the intern's work in the classroom.

I think you know what I mean by the identification of those students who demonstrate some of the personal and temperamental qualities necessary for teaching in deprived areas. I would like, therefore, to talk a little bit more about some of the things that need to be taught in the school of education. I said that I thought it important to provide more and more practical training in the psychology of the learner and the sociological make-up of the community, and this through live contact with the children to be taught and with the families of these children. Before I entered the classroom, I never saw the children that I was going to teach. I remember looking out of the window in the teachers' lounge on the first day of school and seeing thousands of kids coming into the building. I

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conceptual tools with which problem-solving must proceed.

Let me deal briefly with the second large area of teacher education needs I mentioned, that of professional understandings and skills.

A professional acquaintance of mine at the City University of New York reported a study which bears this title: "Children's Perceptions of Their Teachers' Feelings Toward Them Related to Self-Perception, School Achievement, and Behavior." It shows a close relationship among these factors, pointing up a professional insight because it emphasizes the heavy responsibility those of us in the profession must bear for the kinds of outcomes we get in school.

Equally important is the need of teachers to know how to individualize instruction. We've been saying this in our education courses for as long as I've been in teacher education (and that's a lot of decades). However, we rarely teach teachers *how* to individualize instruction; we just tell them, "You must do it." Thus there are not many teachers who really know how to go about individualizing instruction. Yet the conventional approach to instruction is a big stumbling-block to any significant development by disadvantaged youngsters. They don't come to the school with the more-or-less common set of developed skills, attitudes, behaviors, and knowledges of middle-class background. They come to school instead with enormous variations and with many gaps in their individual experiences. If there's any place where focusing our instruction on the specific learning needs of individual children is crucial, it's in the inner-city school. We need to know how to diagnose continually the needs and the experience gaps of such youngsters, to adapt programs which vary to suit their varying needs, to appraise results and to modify these programs. In a special teacher education program that I work with at Yeshiva, one of the most effective things we do is to include sixteen extended sessions in a reading clinic in the regular teaching-of-reading course. Student teachers work with "live" children of varying abilities and disabilities whom they test, diagnose, and for whom they prescribe treatment. The whole approach is towards individualizing reading instruction, using the skills-center technique. The prospective teachers actually learn *how* to individualize instruction in reading, perhaps the most important curriculum area involved in the early schooling of disadvantaged children.

Closely related here is the need of teachers to know how to prepare instructional materials appropriate for disadvantaged children. I have in mind the severe inappropriateness of standard materials in many of our books. Most teachers perceive the inadequacy of these materials for working with disadvantaged children, so they say: "We need better materials; why don't they give us more appropriate materials?" This is the reaction, whether it refers to reading levels or to integrating characters in the books. Increasingly, publishers are turning out relevant materials. What we need,

however, is for teachers to come to understand the necessity for developing their *own* instructional materials in the light of their own classes and the individuals in those classes, and to be *able* to do so. This, of course, is no small order—nor is effective teaching. Not only must we individualize instruction, we must also develop our own creative materials appropriate for our children.

Finally, consider the need of teachers to know what parents of inner-city children really are like, the need to be able to interact effectively with them. I am ever impressed with the stereotypes of impoverished Negro parents which our teacher-trainees have when they enter our program. Since they have never met any nor have ever been in their homes, teacher-trainees have built up misleading notions. The big change in attitudes and insights comes when they visit the homes and interact with the parents of inner-city youngsters. We have found home-visitation of great value in both preservice and in-service teacher education. Too, it does big things for the child to perceive that his teacher thinks it important to come to his home, and it does important things for the parent whose support the school must have.

Let me add one other point, a point which relates to how to "beat the system." Teachers really do need to know how to beat this bureaucratic school system we've built up over the decades, and which, like any bureaucracy, prescribes and proscribes. You and I know that creative teaching doesn't fit into the conventional school straight-jacket. How to beat the system and still keep your job, do a decent job with your children, is certainly a nice question. I'm not supposed to tell you how to do these things; I'm asked merely to tell you "What Teachers Need to Know." I have learned, however, through observation that there are many teachers who are good at beating the system.

Teachers have a great deal of freedom in their own classrooms. Some people decry the fact that there is not much supervision of teachers in our schools, but sometimes it's a blessing! For most of the day the teacher is free to do what she will. She does not *have* to go on teaching lessons to the kids if such lessons are meaningless to them. Most of the effective teachers I know scrap the course of study, except when somebody is looking. They prepare lesson plans that say the "right" things; and if anybody wants to look at them, he can do so. Then these teachers go ahead to try to give the kids truly meaningful experiences in the school, beating the system.

The behavioral-social science understandings and professional insights and skills that we have been talking about focus upon teacher needs, not upon pupil needs, although these are inferred from what we think to be certain pupil needs. This emphasis is a little different from the prevailing emphasis in the field of compensatory education. The prevailing tendency is to concentrate upon the lacks of the disadvantaged child. I had occasion a couple of years ago to do a survey of all the research work done in this field, and I was impressed with the fact that about 90 per cent of all research articles and studies reported were addressed to "What's wrong with this kid?" and hence, "What do we need to do to change him?" The tendency of many of us working in the field is to focus on what is "wrong" with the disadvantaged child. So doing however, is not often conducive to the optimum development of such children. Two tendencies emerge: one, for us in this very defensive profession, to rationalize our failures in terms of the child's deficits which come from his parents and the community; the other, for us to become frustrated as we try to do more and more and more while the child fails to respond and to produce the expected results. In either case, the burden of responsibility—we say—is upon the child and his inadequacies, "wherever they came from."

This emphasis is misplaced. We must come clearly to understand that *the school must change radically before we can get the disadvantaged children in the school to change*. This is a fundamental premise that should underlie most of our efforts in the area of compensatory education. The burden of proof is upon us and our school systems; we have failed. I often argue with students over my definition of teaching, which is "guiding learning." It follows from this definition that if the learner has not learned for whatever reason, then the teacher has not *taught* him. The emphasis is placed upon the teacher and the school. If children don't learn, it means that we have not been able or willing to guide them in the necessary learning experiences. If we take such a point of view, and operate from the premise that the primary target for change is the school (as a necessary pre-condition for the changes that we want in the behaviors of children), then I think we must realize that we must staff our schools with people who have much deeper understandings of the influences shaping human development than those who now predominate.

We will need people who have a functional command of insights from the behavioral and social sciences, people who have certain professional skills and insights relevant to the special learning problems of disadvantaged children. We will need teachers who are equipped with much more than a professional "bag of tricks," who approach teaching as a problem-solving endeavor, and who have the liberal and professional educational tools for coping with and solving the diverse problems involved in guiding learning.

There is no valid "cook-book" guide to effective teaching with any learners, least of all with those who enter our schools handicapped by the negative influences of poverty and discrimination. What teachers need most is not a set of guiding maxims which are deemed practical for work with disadvantaged children; rather their most pressing needs are scientific insights into the psychological and sociological forces shaping the development of such children, certain professional know-hows, and, emphatically, a creative

realized at that moment that I knew nothing whatever of their families, the lives they lived, the things they did on the way to and on the way from school, or what their school life had been in the seven years before I met them.

Teacher-trainees should have the knowledge to recognize serious personality disturbances in the classroom. Even in my few years of teaching, I have come across children who have problems serious enough to be referred and treated outside of the classroom. I think a teacher should know the difference between what she can handle and what she cannot handle, between what is tolerable in the culture and what is deviant regardless of culture. Teacher-trainees should have the experience of making their own case studies.

Students need more direct, personal experience with the culture—its patterns of family structure, home life, occupational and educational level, and the effects of financial and traditional poverty where they occur. They need to be personally familiar with what Dr. Schueler calls the life style of the community from which their children will come. Although this country embraces several vastly different types of disadvantaged cultures, a trainee must learn *how to learn a culture*—how to *analyze* and *recognize* its patterns and its unique value system. Then, if a teacher were trained to teach in a certain kind of deprived area in Atlanta, and ended up in New York City or Miami, at least she would have learned the concept of culture and would have learned methods and approaches to the study of culture. It seems to me that to know a culture is to know what should and what shouldn't be done; what can and what can't be done; what merely disconcerts a well-brought-up teacher and what interferes with the positive growth and development of the child.

I thought that I had learned a lot my first year, but not more than a couple of months ago, I let one student problem get by. He was a child who appeared in the classroom ten minutes late every day; he also slept in class. I allowed him to sleep for about half the class period and then I awakened him, for I had found that a short rest at the beginning made him more attentive for the rest of the period. He was very active, very agreeable, and he became a leader of sorts in the class. However, he did arrive about ten minutes late every day. This concerned the rest of the class; they needed to know that something was going to be done about the boy's tardiness, that the school was going to be orderly. So we solved our disciplinary problem.

Then one day I realized that the boy had passed out in class. With some help I got him to the nurse, only to find that he didn't have the cold that I'd been talking to his mother on the phone about; he wasn't really so tired from the after-school job that his mother had made him stop. The difficulty was with the bottles that were found stashed away in the men's restroom; that's what he'd been doing for those ten minutes each day before he arrived in my classroom.

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approach to the special academic and emotional problems reflected in the inner-city classroom.

AN ADDRESS

by Hubert Burns

My sense of logic suggests I define the problem as I see it or at least discuss some of the parameters, for we all know a problem undefined is a problem unlikely to be solved.

In clear language, the problem is that American public education has failed to help enough children from the lower socio-economic strata enter the mainstream of our society. That is to put it gently. To put it less gently, schools actually prevent many children from doing so. As the recent report of the Civil Rights Commission documented, the longer disadvantaged children stay in school the further behind they fall.

If that is not the single major problem in education today, then I volunteer to turn in my cap and gown. And if it *is* the major problem, many of us should have our caps, gowns, and gold tassels taken away.

Why do our schools fail in this respect when they have been fairly successful with most middle-class children? At the simplest level of diagnosis, I suspect it is because schools have not been geared to the education of the disadvantaged, because schools lack the "know-how" and the "know-why," not to mention the will.

If this is the case, then our first task is to examine the ends now being served by the schools and then identify those that should be served. Means and ends are inextricably related, and if eventually we want to talk about the education of teachers we will not be very successful unless we first talk about what we want our students to be able to do, or at least what the process of education should do to or for students.

So we start with ends, not means; we start with the purposes rather than with the procedures of education. Put succinctly, we need to know what kinds of products—students—we want before we can design a teacher education system to train teachers who can produce the students we want.

For instance, as John Dewey noted decades ago, if we want our students to become unquestioning, passive, accepting, conforming adults, ready to do as they are told and ready to accept and defend the *status quo* as an eternal verity, then we shall want to train teachers in a very different way than if we want students to become curious, active, questioning, independent individuals who are ready, able, and willing to function in our highly interdependent, complex, ever-changing, technological, and increasingly urbanized society.

It is within the present state of the art to produce either kind of teacher, either kind of student. Actually we produce both kinds now, although I am ashamed to say the evidence suggests that we produce more of

the former than of the latter—perhaps because it is easier to do.

Thus, as Arthur Pearl from the University of Oregon (my colleague in the NDEA National Institute for Advanced Study in Teaching Disadvantaged Youth) notes: "If we want the former kind of student, we need more teachers whose stance is to demand formal respect from children, to order specific performance from children, to crush opposition to teacher will and authority. And in view of the teacher shortage, let me suggest that superintendents wanting this kind of teacher think about recruiting graduates of police academies or military schools where riot control, suppression of guerilla insurrection, and military government are part of the curriculum."[2]

For my part (and I hope yours), I don't want a society of conforming, uniform adults. So I don't want schools which, in effect, demand conformity of student behavior and uniformity of student thought by insecure, authoritarian teachers whose teacher education was neither educative nor productive of a teacher. There is a difference between teaching and school-keeping.

In a moment I propose to be more positive and constructive, but right now permit me to be critical, critical of *us*. My theme is drawn from one of my favorite philosophers, Pogo, who once said, "I have seen the enemy, and he is us." In a real sense we are the enemy, at least in part. We are members of the establishment, and we are part of the problem.

If for no other reason this is so because we *know* of the phoniness, the irrelevance of much of what goes on in public education and teacher education. We have lived and we do live with this guilty knowledge, but few of us, including me, do much of anything to make the curriculum relevant, to weed out incompetent teachers and administrators; to call a spade a spade, especially if it is a board member or local politico who is using that dirty shovel; to do much of anything even to reform an educational system—a system that may need a revolution rather than a reformation if it is to become alert, alive, and contributory to the social, economic, and political needs of a modern society rapidly nearing the fourth quarter of the twentieth century.

We are now educating children whose lives will be lived as much or more in the next century as in this one, but our schools are still based on structures and functions more apropos of the earlier part of this century, if not the last.

This is really a terrible indictment, for it accuses us of the most grievous educational felony: curricular and pedagogical irrelevance, contributing to the intellectual delinquency of minors, and thereby endangering the foundations of a free, open, pluralistic society. We must know this. There isn't a person here who doesn't know that our schools are sick because our society is sick. There isn't a person here who doesn't know it is morally wrong and educationally destructive to segregate students; every one of us knows that, as Harvard's Pettigrew says, "We are committing educational genocide on the next generation of Negro children." We know that our schools and colleges are not yet doing anything dramatically significant on a large enough scale to make even a dent in the problem. Of course we are not guilty of all this; we know our own sins, and we know we're not all *that* bad—yet. But it seems to me an honest sense of reality coupled with our professional conscience would suggest we might do well to plead guilty to contributory negligence.

If teachers have been negligent, especially so concerning the education of disadvantaged youth, I suspect it is because most of them simply do not know how to make a significant or even relevant contribution. This is to say, in large measure, that they have no clear ideas of educational ends or purposes. Most teachers, reflecting their teacher training, are all means and no ends. Such orientation renders them unable to evaluate in any respectable way the efficacy of their means.

So we come full circle: to know what kinds of teachers we want, we need a clear conception of the kinds of students we want to produce, a clear idea of the goals of education pertinent to a modern, technological, free, and open society.

I suggest we *can* identify such goals and can do so in operational rather than metaphysical terms. I suggest that such goals, expressed in terms of what we want students to be able to do, will yield clear signals as to how schools should be organized and conducted. These will yield, in turn, signals as to how teachers need to be trained if they are to function well in schools designed to achieve the ends of education demanded by a modern political and economic society.

There are several such major ends of education as I see them, all related to the larger goal of preserving and extending our individual and collective freedom. Consequently, an orderly sense of procedure suggests that since I have coupled education with freedom, I offer for your intellectual audit my premises; for what follows is based on them, and you are entitled to examine first principles as well as conclusions.

These premises can be encapsulated in the words of Thomas Jefferson who, writing to Colonel Charles Yancy in 1814, said "A nation that expects to be both free and ignorant . . . expects what never was and never will be."[3] This says nothing less than that the safety and future of the Republic depend upon the quantity and quality of education available in the Republic. It is to say, in effect, that our schools are—or should be—the bulwark of our freedom. But until we have an operational definition of freedom, to say this is to say little more than to offer a cliché to which most will pay allegiance. Let me offer one such operational definition.

To begin with, whatever else we may or may not mean, it seems that in freedom there are three crucial ingredients. The first is the *existence of alternatives*.

Now I think that I should have been prepared to consider all the possibilities in this student's case. It may be that no one could have recognized it; his other teachers didn't. But the problem had become quite serious by the time it was discovered. He actually had to pass out before anybody knew that something was wrong.

Another point I made with regard to training was that student internship should and must be in the deprived area school. The intern should have the experience of teaching, testing, and identifying specific children's problems in that area. She should not, as so often happens, replace the supervising teacher for the duration of her practice teaching quarter. On the contrary, she should work closely and continuously with that teacher.

There should be an opportunity for the intern to examine and evaluate in the classroom those materials specifically adjusted or designed for the educationally disadvantaged. There should be an opportunity for her to try out methods of teaching the language skills of whatever subject area she has chosen. She should come to the classroom only after she understands the need for language development in all areas. But she must work with the flesh-and-blood class to learn how to identify and meet specific language deficiencies. In summary, it seems to me that a major concern of schools of education should be to nourish the kinds of skills and understandings appropriate to the deprived classroom.

As a postscript, I should like to add that no teacher should be sent out to help children who are deficient in general education until she herself has a good general education. The educational deficiencies of the deprived child are so far-reaching and generalized that even the secondary teacher must be prepared to treat intelligently any matter that impinges on the understanding of the subject matter at hand. To teach English well she must also be prepared to teach science, civics, geography, money and banking, or anything else that comes between the child and his competent use and appreciation of English.

When the teacher finally enters the profession, she must have some means of comparison of her situation with the reasonable expectations of master teachers in a similar situation. She needs a supervisor to work closely with her as she plans her lessons, and to work equally closely with her as her effectiveness is evaluated in the classroom. Here is where instructional teams might be quite effective.

No teacher should come to a deprived school not knowing what to expect or not knowing what is expected of her. Proper preservice and early in-service training can and must minimize the waste and the loss of good teaching.

Sharon Kaye Williams

In thinking over my preservice teacher training, I realize now how much it would have helped if I had

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If man or society has no alternatives, freedom can be only illusory. If there is nothing other to do than what one is doing, man is not free; he is but a creature determined. If no other possible course of action exists than the present one, if behavior cannot be altered, then we are merely puppets working out a predetermined blueprint for life. But if any alternative exists, if there is any other possible course of action, then the seed of freedom exists. Granted it may not have yet sprouted, and has certainly not yet bloomed, but it is there—and one of the conditions of freedom has been met.

The second ingredient is *choice*. It matters not that one or many alternatives for behavior exist if we cannot choose among them. If our ability to identify alternatives, evaluate their likely consequences, and choose one on the basis of desire or need is impaired, then to that extent choice and freedom are impaired. But with the existence of alternatives and the ability to identify and elect a preferred course of action, the seed of freedom has grown and we can see in the choices available that it is many-flowered.

The third ingredient is *power*. Even if alternatives exist, and even if we have identified them and chosen among them, unless we have the power to act upon a choice, to implement it, actually to do it, we have no real freedom. What does it mean to choose to buy a solid gold Cadillac if one is a pauper? What does it mean to choose to be a doctor, lawyer, or corporation head if one cannot command the power of an education? What does it mean to choose to vote if one lacks the power to get registered? In this sense the existence of alternatives and the right and ability to choose are necessary but insufficient conditions of freedom; to them *must* be added the condition of power, the ability to act upon a choice and so realize the chosen alternative.

The components of freedom, then, are alternatives, choice, and power. But here note the common thread that runs through all of them: the need for knowledge, the need for information. Knowledge is the father of freedom. That which stifles knowledge or restricts education or limits inquiry, stifles, restricts, and limits freedom. On the contrary, that which spreads and expands knowledge or extends and enlarges education or promotes and cherishes inquiry, increases and improves freedom.

So as Jefferson intimated, education is the bulwark of democracy. It takes no genius to see, therefore, that the over-riding aims of education in an open society must be to make alternatives available to students, to give them the intellectual competence to identify alternatives and make choices, and to provide them with such knowledge as can be transformed into power to act upon their choices. The teacher or the school that fails to contribute to these ends fails both student and society. And I offer you my judgment that too many teachers, too many schools, are failures.

Granted that these are the major ends of education;

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TEACHER EDUCATION FOR THE DISADVANTAGED: AN OVERVIEW

Herbert Schueler
President
Richmond College, New York City, New York

This has been characterized by your chairman as a keynote address. I accepted in full knowledge of the conventions that require such, if only to provide an occasion for all participants to assemble at the outset in the same room to get acquainted with one another, and to provide a kind of overture to the opera—recognizing all along that the important things will come later.

My task this time, quite frankly, has been made much more difficult by the audience I'm facing. Without question, you represent the leadership role in teacher education in this area. The purpose of your deliberations in "providing innovative programs for the preparation of teachers to work with disadvantaged youth" will be the significant outcome of this workshop.

I am to provide the kickoff; in the process I shall, like the coach of a possibly already inspired team, provide some measure of stimulation, spur, and inspiration. Moreover, if in the same process I shall say some things which are unpleasant and unsettling, I trust that you of all people will realize that we are talking here of matters which have their roots in deprivation and misery. No one as yet has found the way, thank God, to find complacency in poverty, advantage in disadvantage, or mobility in the exigencies of slum living. Our task, therefore, is to find ways for teachers to combat disadvantages that a combination of societal factors is forcing on ever-increasing numbers of our population.

These disadvantages threaten the essence of those democratic traditions which hold that any individual can achieve the status in society that his native talents and his own will enable him to achieve. It would be vain for me to contend that barriers to this tradition have not always existed in our society. They have, and in great measure. Race, national origin, religion, economic status, sex, even politics have variously served to inhibit the free aspirations of individuals. Yet in an age which is making the greatest philosophical and moral progress in overcoming these barriers, economic and social forces are determining the opposite. There is simply not much of a productive place left in our society for the unskilled. Automation is increasingly invading the functions of the manual worker, the functions that have traditionally provided the lower socio-economic levels of our society with the wherewithal, however mean, of basic existence. The world of work so extolled by the romantics, the world of muscular brawn and physical dexterity, is becoming more superflous and antiquated in a automated society. The lifting of the bale is now done by a crane; the harvest is achieved by the combine; the work of the domestic is being done more cheaply and efficiently by the washer-dryer and the automatic dishwasher. Machines themselves are run by computers, not men. The unskilled swiftly are becoming surplus human commodities.

Coupled with this rapid automation is the equally rapid urbanization of our society. This urbanization represents the increasing centralization of population around centers of industry and commerce. That's "where the action is," and where sometimes there is an opportunity for security for the lower socio-economic levels of population. But all too often the lure of finding a better life represents a last hope gone wrong. As a consequence, there are growing in all the centers of population of our land inner-cities of deprivation that rival the ghettos of medieval Europe. They are encapsulated centers of social misery from which there is no escape except that provided by self-pity and withdrawal, sometimes buttressed by the solaces of narcotics, alcohol, outward revolt in crime, or, as happened in the Old World, in Asia, and Africa, (and may indeed happen in the New World) the desperation step of violent revolution.

It is one of the supreme ironies of modern times that the cities have changed roles: once they provided the opportunities for upward mobility for the lower-class immigrant from foreign shores; now they provide a final social nadir for the American in-migrant. The spreading American ghetto of the sixties tends to defeat the social mobility of its inhabitants, and doom them—as did the ghettos of the Old World of another century and as do the "barrios" infesting Latin American cities today—to live and die in a permanently depressed social, economic, human condition. We are in danger in this enlightened decade of achieving what our democratic society, to its eternal and unique credit, has always avoided: a cementing of social classes from which the lowest can never escape. I cannot emphasize too strongly that this is the paramount problem of our time, a problem that, unless corrected, will destroy all we have held virtuous and dear as completely and as fatally as any nuclear holocaust.

A while ago I stated that this conference had a mission to help find ways for teachers to combat the deprivations of the disadvantaged in our society. Why single out teachers? Why not industrialists, government officials, social workers, ministers, businessmen? Why put the burden on teachers? After all, they have their own struggle to maintain their proper place in society.

Obviously, teachers cannot do it alone. But this task of combatting disadvantage cannot be achieved without the school nor without a corps of teachers trained and dedicated to this purpose. President Johnson referred in a little-noted message to the nation to the unique role of the schools in modern America in the building of a democratic society. In closing his address to Congress in January, 1965, in which he proposed an unprecedented expenditure of federal funds for education primarily intended for the disadvantaged (this conference is an ultimate beneficiary of that message): "Once again we must start where men who would improve their society have always known they must begin—with an educational system restudied, reinforced, revitalized."

If an educational system is to be restudied, to be reinforced, and to be revitalized, then there is one major force that must be restudied, reinforced, revitalized. That force is the teacher who provides everyday leadership and human contact with students, and without whom no possibility of achieving effective human development through the medium of the school can be realized. Therefore our focus in this conference is upon the teacher, his preparation and continuing education, and by extension, upon the program of the school.

It is sometimes difficult for the layman, tragically enough even difficult for some teachers, to realize the potential personal and institutional power that the schools represent. Just consider for a moment the physical and temporal scope of the school. It is the one publicly endowed social agency that is within relatively easy access of every man, woman, and child in the community. It occupies a dominant portion of the daily life of every child and adolescent from at least the age of six to the age of sixteen. It represents a time span of influence that, if properly handled, can rival the influence of all the other hours of the day, all the other weeks, and all the other years. To cap these advantages it is permanently endowed with public funds, and however meagerly supported, is clearly the one permanent, stable, public institution in every community.

I submit that there is no extra-familial force as potentially powerful in any community as is the school and its corps of teachers. If it is the community that is disadvantaged, it is the school and its teachers that have prime opportunity to build for its clientele, child and adult, the power to achieve strength and status sufficient to rise above their depressed condition. It is true that the school cannot do it alone, but little of significance will happen without the school.

The foregoing are all preachments. They are not difficult to understand; agreement with them is perhaps rather easy. However, it is one thing to recognize the problem and its correction, and quite another matter to solve it. Let me therefore attempt some propositions, many of them controversial, which may help establish directions of programs and practices for teacher education with a mission to help disadvantaged youth.

First, let me pose the proposition that the nature of the deprivation of our disadvantaged population requires unique treatment specifically geared to their present status and to their present educational, social, and economic needs. By extension this holds true for the work of the teacher and for the training that he needs.

The argument against this view goes something like this: What is so different about the role of the teacher in working with disadvantaged youth? Aren't the requirements of good teaching sufficiently basic and applicable to build effective programs for teachers, wherever they may be appointed, slum or suburb, with youngsters of deprivation or privilege? (It seems, incidentally, that this view is most frequently held by professors of education and least frequently held by classroom teachers.) The answer, at least to me, is simple. Generalizations may apply to all, but the application is specific to each child, each group, each community. Teacher education stands or falls by the effect it has on the teacher's work with a particular child, in a particular group, in a particular neighborhood. Life for all of us would be much simpler if an ideal, universally applicable mode of teaching and teacher education were possible, one steeped in unchanging principles and practices to fit every condition.

The tragic failure of the inner-city schools in this decade should be sufficient evidence to refute this fond dream. There is evidence, for example, that in some inner-city areas the longer the disadvantaged child remains in school, the farther behind he falls as judged by the norms of scholastic achievement applicable to his age group. Moreover, a recent study in a particular city showed that incidents of delinquency were greater among youth *before* they dropped out of school than after. In the face of this kind of experience, there is exquisite irony in the national "Stay in school; Don't drop out" movement. The "child" can be understood as theory. But the teacher works with "Henry," "Jose," and even "Bartholomew." And teacher education, both preservice and in-service, must equip a teacher to deal with them as specific human beings. "Mankind" is a useful and unifying concept for philosophers and poets; but "men" in all their individuality are the reality.

When one begins to pursue this inquiry into areas related to teacher education for the disadvantaged, one quickly finds that their number is legion, and that meny elements of these broad areas are of basic significance and must be taken into direct account in any viable program of preservice or in-service teacher education. Let me analyze a few examples.

The school is, by nature, a conservative institution. It perpetuates the mores and ideals of the community it serves. In a very real sense it is most comfortable in its role of helping the individual to adjust, to accept, and to further the values and conventions of the community to which he was born. But what value is there in deprivation? What virtue in poverty? What ideals arising from a state of social, economic, and human

disadvantage are worthy of transmission and emulation? In a very real sense, the goal of education for the disadvantaged is not adjustment, but alienation; not contentment, but discontent; not acceptance of their lot, but the will and power to revolt. The disadvantaged must be helped to fashion a community for which they have few models in their own life. I submit that this imperative alone requires particular approaches and presents particular problems, toward whose solution very few of us have had any experience. Yet no imperative is as crucial as this one in its implications for teaching and teacher education for the disadvantaged.

Consider, in addition, the perquisites of the teacher's role in a school serving a disadvantaged community. In an earlier, less complicated time, textbooks on teacher education were wont to extol the virtues of teacher participation in the community. "Only to the degree," one such book reads, "that the parents get to know you and like you can you fulfil your end of the partnership between family and teacher in guiding proper child development. Live in the community, therefore; participate in its social and civic affairs. Join the bridge club, the bowling group; help in Community Chest drives." All well and good. But does this apply here? The teacher, no matter what his socio-economic origin, is of a higher social class than the disadvantaged families of his student. Where his students live and under the conditions in which they live, he will not live; nor should he be expected to. His are the familiar middle-class virtues and aspirations; his life style is not their life style. In a significant number of characteristics that matter most in establishing the necessary empathic relationship with his student, the teacher is a stranger. Yet this stranger is the teacher who is expected to act effectively, *in loco parentis* for youth who usually lack, but so desperately need the stabilizing influence of family life. This stranger is expected to know intimately the everyday life style that is fashioning his students' personality and behavior. Unless the teacher knows, how can he be expected to help the student develop the power, the fortitude, and the strength of character to rise above this condition?

A maxim of good teaching is "Begin where the student is, not where you fondly hope he should be." But where is he? He's in the streets, in over-crowded hovels, in a non-supportive environment hostile to his proper development. Here the teacher's knowledge is not enough; the teacher's professional attitude toward the pupil whose life style and environment cannot fail to be basically abhorrent to him as a person is probably even more important. There is room here for recognizing prejudices; there is need here to so fashion actions toward and relationships with these children that the result is support, not alienation; firmness, not punishment; respect, not rejection.

The function of the school and the teacher is largely one of complementing the educative forces of family and community. However, through overwhelming evidence we know that these educative and socializing forces are far weaker in the disadvantaged segment of society. Moreover, in many cases, they are effectively antagonistic and at cross-purposes to the aspirations of the school. Martin Deutsch has said, "When the home is a proportionately less effective socializing force, the school must become a more effective one."

I trust that these few examples make the point. I should like to dwell additionally on one implication for teacher education that I believe to be crucial, one only implied in the examples cited above. No effective program of teacher education, particularly that directed to the disadvantaged, can be organized apart from the clientele and the neighborhood it is expected to serve. Callaway Gardens is not a suitable center to train teachers to work effectively in the slums of Atlanta, however appropriate it may be as a training ground to equip service personnel with the principles and practices of the care and feeding of members of the Workshop on Preparing Teachers to Work with Disadvantaged Youth.

If the object of a program is to develop in teachers the skills to work with disadvantaged children in a decaying neighborhood, a goodly portion of its program must be directed toward that neighborhood. And a good portion of the guided teacher education experiences of the students should be in that neighborhood with children that the teacher is expected to serve in the future. This requires the professionals to descend from their ivory towers to the specific environment in which their charges are expected to function. It will require them, in other words, to go back to school, but not to the school they fondly remember from their own experiences. The school they believe should exist doesn't exist, and possibly never will.

As a corollary to this imperative for a realistic, on-the-spot guided experience, stands the need for a teacher's preparation to include far more supervisory help in the first years of service. Continuing, guided teacher development is crucially needed, particularly for the teachers of the disadvantaged. Dewey once said that the only certainty in life is that things will change. As society changes, so do requirements for teaching change—a truism that I hope has been made clear in my remarks.

In everything I have said there is a continuing motif. Simply stated, it is that the school's function in serving a disadvantaged community is fundamentally to help fashion a new and better social order. George Counts once wrote a highly controversial book for an age somewhat earlier than the present. It was entitled *Dare the School Build A New Social Order?* [New York: John Day, 1932] This I will say for our age: "Dare the schools build a new social order? For the disadvantaged at least, they had better!"

It cannot be done without the school's help. Otherwise, the kind of social order we all want—one based on reason and love rather than on privilege and power—will forever remain an illusion and an unattainable dream.

known about the disadvantaged; if I had known that the disadvantaged were not found only in slum schools or only in culturally deprived schools of large cities such as New York, Los Angeles, and Chicago. I should have known that they were in my own home town. No one ever spoke to me about working in the socio-economically deprived areas of my own town, or in any town. Before I was able to work with culturally deprived children, I had first to know that they existed and that I could help them. Instead I was prepared—as were my classmates—to teach the nice, average children from the nice suburbs of our towns and cities.

The education courses at my college were not completely adequate, but then most education courses are not. The courses were greatly lacking in practical application and in preparation for the kind of teaching that I am now doing. I wish now that I could have been exposed to schools from "both sides of the track" during my preservice teacher training. We were not made aware of the existence of disadvantaged schools.

If a student teacher works in both a disadvantaged school and an average school, he can decide in which type he is best suited to work full time. (This same idea applies to grade-level training. My preservice training was done on a secondary level, but I have found I am happiest working with the lower elementary grades. Often a teacher finds he enjoys working with a different group, but it's too late to change—without paying a lot of summer school tuitions!)

The more varied the classroom situations of a student teacher's experience, the greater the chance of having a teacher who is aware of his position, who is able consciously to choose his best spot in that position. He, and his superiors, would be able to see where his talents should best be employed.

I strongly contend that every student preparing to teach school at any level ought to have training in phonics and remedial reading. Slow readers are present in nearly every classroom, disadvantaged or advantaged, secondary or elementary. Assuming this, why is remedial reading an extra or optional course in most teacher training programs? Why is it not required? If this were the case, then wherever a teacher's assignment, he would be better prepared to cope with the reading problems so often presented.

When I began my service with the Atlanta Public Schools, great stress was put on the poverty of the urban schools. Upon my next assignment, the orientation into the city was continued. None of the things said about scant clothing, rough discipline, low achievers, or lack of community cooperation was new to me. I even thought I understood until I spent my first day in a fifth grade classroom. I guess seeing is believing.

I began to "see" what I had been "looking at"; dirty, bare feet, not necessarily dirty from a lack of desire to be clean; rather, dirty from no shoes to wear; vile language freely used in the classroom. (In fact, I found myself on the receiving end of a bit of that

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what do they mean specifically? More specifically, cast in terms of students, they mean that the school must do three things (which Arthur Pearl has perceptively elaborated):

The school must—

1. Give each student a real choice of careers;
2. Give each student a real ability to be an active citizen, to function in an open society;
3. Give each student the intra- and inter-personal skills needed to function in a complex, interdependent, and probably bureaucratic society.

There are other goals: some major (such as making children into culture carriers) and some minor (such as teaching middle-class English, spoken without a Southern accent, Midwestern twang, Western drawl, Boston nasality, or the atrocity that passes in downstate New York for English). But none is so important, in my judgment, as these three I have identified for your scrutiny and analysis.

Let me comment on these, especially in reference to the so-called "disadvantaged." Incidentally, by this term we normally mean Negroes when actually we could mean all kinds of poor—Spanish-Americans, American Indians, and a good many white Anglo-Saxon, Protestant, and Catholic Americans as well. This terminology is only another way of saying that poverty and deprivation and disadvantagement are *not* a function of genetics but of socio-economics, of a socio-economic system including a subsystem called education, which has historically, systematically, effectively, and sometimes deliberately, denied many individuals and groups entry into the affluent society.

First, the end of giving students real career choices. Here by way of overview I can try to drive home my point by using Arthur Pearl's definition of a disadvantaged student: a kid who has no credit cards. This definition is really a masterful *double-entendre*. In the surface meaning, who can deny that in our modern economy he who is denied a credit card is disadvantaged? In the deeper meaning, who can deny that ours *is* a credentialed society? He who lacks or is denied the proper credentials—the most basic of which is a high school diploma—is surely disadvantaged and therefore is condemned to a marginal life. Any undergraduate economics student can tell us that our modern economy uses unskilled and semi-skilled labor less and less; that employment is more and more organizational, bureaucratic, and de-personalized; that any effective entrance into the money economy requires the completion of legal education requirements and usually some post-secondary education. Since this is the case, the schools simply must keep every student "alive." Every single student who wants to go to college has got to be given a chance to go to college.

We all know, however, that the elementary and secondary school operates as a screening device which in effect discourages and eliminates the disadvantaged from going on to higher education while at the same

time it encourages the already advantaged to do so. By such a process, the schools stratify society more than it is at present, and contribute not only to a class society but to a caste society. Fifty years ago, one hundred years ago, education opened and loosened society; it was a democratizing influence. But today it is closing, tightening, and rigidifying society.

The chief reason for this is that today, as never before in our society, educational success is highly correlated with parental socio-economic position. One partial implication of this is that if we know little more than parental occupation and income, we can predict with frightening accuracy a child's academic career. The full implication of this is that kids who most need school are pushed out or dropped out. Tragically, rather than solving this problem, the school is contributing to it. Most schools, because they expect less from disadvantaged students, give them less, are satisfied with less from them. Such students are segregated by ability and continue to fall behind until at some point—usually by junior high—they are lost. The school has not saved them; it has condemned them. It has put into operation a self-sustaining hypothesis: to be disadvantaged is to be dumb; to be dumb is to be fit only for the vocational track—a track which, almost invariably, is really a temporary dumping ground until these students can be permanently dumped on a declining labor market without any saleable skills.

The simple truth is that many youths become disaffected with school because the school is truly irrelevant. School does not provide them either with an entry to college or with an entry to the world of work. And thus they fail in life as in school, because the school has failed them. We like to blame the kid or his home or his ancestral genetics or his peers—or anything but the school. Maybe some of these factors did contribute to his failure, but so did the school. And that means us.

It is the school which has stamped the student as a failure (a judgment the student too often accepts). It is the school which has, surrendering responsibility, stigmatized the student. It is the school which for some peculiar reason related to our economic system scorns effort unless it leads to success and, in so doing, humiliates the losers. Thus the school too often fails in its task to identify and open career alternatives, to help students make a wise choice of career, and to give them the power to enter that career.

Does the school give disadvantaged students a real ability to be active citizens in an open society as the second goal of education in our society requires? I think the answer is obvious. One reason why these students learn little of democratic processes in school is because almost all schools, so far as the student is concerned, are authoritarian institutions run by rigid, fearful administrators, conducted by teachers who but dimly perceive their role in promoting citizenship and participation because they are blinded by the assumption that a curriculum consists only of formal subject matter. Thus the student who questions being force-fed a pre-digested, often irrelevant curriculum is *ipso facto* a "bad citizen." Very few schools prepare students for active, effective participation in the political life of our communities, if only because that is too dangerous—assuming they even knew how.

What of the third goal: giving the disadvantaged the inter- and intra-personal skills needed to survive in an open society? Again we are failing. Alienation and anomie are growing because schools (especially colleges) are depersonalized. We are all becoming numbers while the school has become an institution which is destroying rather than promoting individuality. The school handles student deviancy by segregation. Students are put in special classes—for the slow learner, the gifted learner, the disturbed, the unruly, and so on until differences between human beings are reinforced, and group intercourse and accommodation are made more and more difficult. The system is complex. The school demands conformity. The students must shape up or ship out; and since schools are not very effective at helping the disadvantaged to shape up, they ship out.

Teachers too are subject to alienation, feelings of insignificance, and a sense of powerlessness. Many have little confidence in themselves; many fear they are only minimally competent and so they are not about to venture into new areas or build innovative programs on their own initiative. Anyway, why should they? There is very little in the organization of the school which encourages and rewards independence and innovation.

If the end of education is to serve the promotion of a free society; if by freedom we mean the identification and extension of alternatives, the analysis and making of choices, and the generation of power to act; if in education this means giving all students a choice of entering the economy with real career preparation, preparing them to function in a democratic society, and helping them develop the inter-personal skills needed for survival in our complex society; then with the middle-class student we have had some fair success. But with the lower-class student, especially our disadvantaged Negro and Spanish minorities, we have simply failed.

We have failed, I suppose, because our schools do mirror the society in which they exist and which supports them. And our society has not until recently really cared about the 20 per cent of its population who are poor, disadvantaged citizens. Separate and unequal is still the *leit motif* in the nation's schools, be they in Birmingham or Boston, New Orleans or New York, Chattanooga or Chicago, Atlanta or Los Angeles.

And here lies the dilemma: we know from the Coleman Report that a really superior school for Negroes must be integrated. We know from the Civil Rights Report that after thirteen years of court order, demonstrations, and pressure from three presidents, educational segregation is increasing, not decreasing. We know, too, that the average white American is not yet ready to do what must be done to integrate all children

language that first day. A very rebellious young girl who did not want to take her seat told me where I might go.) Most of my first classroom experiences were a shock, but adjustment was not impossible.

My feeling for the educational needs of these children, for their emotional adjustment, is very strong, but knowledge falls short of enabling me to cope with both of these areas. I began to question myself as I realized just how little I knew about what I was doing. My answers led me to judge that the confusion which I face is not entirely my fault. Why didn't someone give me reason to study urban sociology? How many colleges know where their student teachers will be assigned after graduation? Since few, if any, do, they should prepare teachers to work with all children, not just the "nice kids." Although the need for specialization in working with culturally disadvantaged children is necessary for real effectiveness, a general background for all teachers would not do any harm.

Somewhere between existentialism and music appreciation, I would suggest the teaching of "caring" in college, if it could be done. A teacher must learn his position in the world of children; he must learn to love. He must learn to accept his students as little individual people groping and reacting, more than acting, in the adult world.

Perhaps "love" is a worn out word which connotes less logic than is required by a teacher. If so, let me try for "constructive compassion," because my children do not know they are called "disadvantaged." They don't know they need special help. I am their teacher; they are my students. They weren't anxiously awaiting the arrival of a teacher of disadvantaged children!

Because of the kind of teaching I do, I am able to work creatively with these children. We talk a lot (since I broke through the language barrier). During our sharing time I learn the answers to many questions I have about my children. They need so desperately to be "listened to" and not "talked at."

Through art activities they often expose their repressed emotions. These are the times when a principal sometimes feels we are allowing too much free expression; he seeks to quell our chattering and drawing. And we quiet down—but only until he is out of sight! I cannot allow myself to pity my children. For one thing, it won't teach them anything; for another, it could easily get the best of me. Instead, I am sorry they don't have shoes to wear, but since I see that they are used to it, I may as well accept it and get to work.

Their manners, morals, and ideals are very different from mine, yet I can see from their environment the reasons for our difference. My values are not apropos of their rough, hard struggle to survive. I realize I cannot expect them to accept mine. I must hope that I can show them by example that there is another way to think and react. They will be able to choose then, if they feel my way is better than theirs. Through this kind of relationship with my children I have

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in schools. We know further from the McCone Report, that if we do not intergrate, our cities will be transformed into hideous reservations for the Negro poor. Since the white majority can hardly expect Negroes to accept this with passive resignation, we run the risk of becoming a repressive society.

It is a dilemma that we cannot expect the school alone to solve; certainly not when we consider the way our schools are presently organized, funded, administered, and conducted. If and when the schools are able to make a deeply significant contribution to the education of disadvantaged youth, I suspect they will be as different from the schools of today as those of today are from the academies and Latin schools of yesteryear. Nor do I suspect this kind of change will be volunteered at the local level by local school boards or administrators.

In this gloomy context, what is to be said of teacher preparation? This at least: with respect to preparing teachers for any kind of student, teacher education is—

- too remote from the public schools and classroom practice;
- based on theory that is irrelevant and inapplicable;
- contaminated by values which all but preclude effective instruction of poor children;
- negligent in the preparation and use of paraprofessionals, especially those from the adult disadvantaged segment;
- subjected to a fragmented curriculum, with little articulation between theory and practice, method and content;
- foreshortened in power, due to the limitations of candidates it attracts; and finally,

(Willard Waller once said, "A teacher is a man hired to tell lies to little boys.)"

- plagued with too many professors of education who are teaching lies about the schools because they don't know the reality.

What should be done? I'm not sure, except that teacher education must be made more relevant. Let me conclude by suggesting an alternative I'm not sure I'd endorse, but which may be worth exploring.

Many colleges, perhaps even most colleges, have not taken seriously their obligation to teacher education, most especially their overriding social obligation to train teachers for the disadvantaged. Since they have not, since they cannot be forced into active social responsibility, and since in any case the most relevant place to train teachers is where teaching is going on, should we not consider transferring the responsibility from colleges and universities to the public schools?

In public higher education this would involve a simple shift of funds and responsibility from higher to public education, so it need not cause any fiscal problem. (One might hear the screams of anguish from professors of education who would, perhaps for the first time, be threatened with the necessity either of getting out in the real world of teaching or of getting out of education. Hopefully, many would choose the

latter career alternative.) Such a shift would create in every school system a division of preservice education. This is admittedly another bureaucratic level, but here preservice education would be closer to the operational level than it is now, bound up as it is in the bureaucracies, politics, and distractions in higher education.

At the same time we might admit, legitimize, and utilize the fact that most teachers are not career teachers, by training teachers for two levels. The first would be skilled craftsmen, technicians in teaching, who would develop pedagogical know-how via an apprenticeship system as teacher aides, then helping teachers, and finally, as junior partners in a teaching team. The second would be career professionals, possessed of know-why as well as know-how who would serve as clinical teacher educators in the system's division of teacher preparation and who would hold consulting appointments in local colleges.

Wild as these speculations may be, they admit at least that campus-based-and-dominated teacher education has proved to be largely inadequate and that future teachers should be trained where the action is. If we can get teacher education where the action is, then we can improve the preparation of teachers for the disadvantaged—and thus, by protecting the Republic from ignorance, make a contribution to keeping it free.

SOME SUGGESTIONS FOR PROGRAM PLANNING

Dorothy McGeoch

A history of the preparation of teachers for work with the disadvantaged was developed as a part of Project Aware, a nation-wide research project to determine some facts about preparation of school personnel for working with disadvantaged children and youth. It cites the very first preparation for such teachers as beginning in 1805 when the Free School Society of New York City attempted to educate some of the poor children who did not belong to, or were not provided for by any religious society. You may remember that they started with one small building, one teacher, and twenty children. The demand was so overwhelming that they soon realized that they not only would have to provide more facilities but would have to prepare more teachers.

Response to this problem of teacher preparation came in the Lancaster System, then in use in England. In this system a teacher taught a number of monitors and the monitors then taught the other pupils. Thus, with an investment in the salary of one teacher, some kind of education was provided for as many as two hundred youngsters. It was assumed that by studying the manuals which were developed, and by following them closely, any person could soon learn to become a successful teacher in a monitorial school. Here was a pioneering example of a teacher-proof system of programmed instruction!

In spite of the advantages the Lancastrian system had over some previous ways of preparing teachers, it proved to be less than perfect, and thus it has been with each system, program, strategy, and technique developed since that time. This inadequacy has never been more recognizable than at present particularly in our attempt to prepare teachers to work in depressed areas with disadvantaged youngsters. In his chapter in *The Inner City Classroom*, Harry Passow says, "Clearly, teacher education both at the preservice and in-service levels needs modification if we are to recruit, train, and keep dedicated teachers who have the know-how, insight, and commitment to extend educational opportunities to disadvantaged children." And then he goes on to say, "No radical innovations in teacher preparation programs have emerged, although some patterns seem to be forming." Let us take a minute to look at some of these patterns.

First, we have done the thing which is always easy for college people to do; we have made modifications in college courses. In Project Aware, it was found that of the 122 colleges and universities which incorporated a preparation for teaching the disadvantaged into their schools, 77 (about 60 per cent) said they were accomplishing this goal through courses. Courses such as urban sociology, educational sociology, anthropology, community psychology, and others have been added to give the kind of background in the behavioral sciences that we have not ordinarily provided for our classroom teachers.

Some courses have been modified to develop techniques and skills essential to teaching in depressed areas. Such courses include help with diagnostic and remedial procedures, with methods and materials for individualizing instruction, with strategies for classroom control, and with personnel and material resources. These courses have tended to be taught by someone who has had experience in depressed area schools,—often a "This is how I did it" kind of thing, fairly localized, and likely to be quite prescriptive. Limited these courses may be; but even worse are those courses being taught by people who have never been in such schools at all.

I would like to give you a sampling of the major topics of a course which is called "Understanding the Inner-City Child and Environment." Listen to this course outline: "The Culture of the Poor; Value System; Self-Image; Psychological Import of Being Poor; Ethnic Groups, Their Opportunities and Lack of Opportunities; Contributions of Various Ethnic Groups, Music, etc.; the Negro and the "Compressed" Life: Early Sexual Experiences, Early Marriage, Early Maximum Salaries, General Short-Time Outlook, Matriarchal Home, Definition of the Father, Lack of Purpose, Job Prospect, Salaries, etc.; Attitude toward Welfare; Attitude toward Authority; Services from Special Personnel and Agencies; Positive and Negative Aspects of the Poor." Here I can see wonderful opportunities for perpetuation of stereotypes that might

learned to love them. As my sister innocently said to my great-grandmother, "I like you, Granny; I just don't like your ways."

It is the responsibility of those of us in the teaching profession, now, today, to tell the ones coming behind us what it is we are doing and why. No transportation is faster than excitement. Let's get excited over teaching! It is the most challenging and vital job I know.

IMPLICATIONS FOR TEACHER EDUCATION

David E. Day

It is difficult at best to suppose one can begin to identify implications for teacher education from Misses Burbridge, Chapman, and Williams' statements. They said too much of great and sweeping importance on which I could comment in just a few minutes. I shall therefore limit myself to presenting some preliminary and, it is hoped, basic issues underlying problems of preparing teachers to work with educationally disadvantaged children.

I will present seven issues. Three issues are organizational; four are substantive. The organizational issues deal with relationships and responsibilities for teacher education. The four substantive issues are unlike the organizational issues, primarily because their resolution is contingent upon knowledge which at present we do not possess.

All of my remarks must be prefaced by reaffirming Herbert Schueler's thesis. [Teacher Education for the Disadvantaged: An Overview] "Poverty," "deprivation," "disadvantage," however defined, mean a loss of options for certain individuals, options that should be available to all. Education must be a primary means by which these options move closer to the people for whom they are not now open.

Organizational Issues

1. The education of teachers begins *and continues*. It is time we all acted as if we believed the cliché about continuing teacher education. Perhaps it would be valuable to think in terms of levels of teacher education. It seems clear that professional growth, like intellectual growth, is open-ended; yet our proclivity for thinking in terms of terminal degrees and increment credit courses has hindered the achievement of full potential for many teachers.

2. The role of college, university, and school system in teacher education should be defined as *schools and universities working collaboratively* with equal strength and voice in decision making on problems of providing adequate professional education.

It is all too simple for university faculty to look at schools as something in need of change by professors, and for school personnel to perceive the university as an untouchable ivory tower, unrealistic and theoretical. Teachers such as these who spoke here have

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or might not have any relation to the kind of help a student would need to work with children in depressed areas.

From the increase in direct experience, from the addition of other background courses, an indirect influence on such courses as the example given has emerged—perhaps as a blessing in disguise. Curriculum methods courses in many places have had to be combined or integrated, related to clinical experience, or given the situational approach simply because the program cannot stretch far enough to have the usual number of individual methods courses. Many preservice college and university programs have these characteristic course modifications. A rearrangement, if you will, but obviously not a major adaptation.

There is a second group of modifications, much more extensive and much more varied. These are the provisions for a variety of clinical experiences intended to provide first-hand contact for preservice and in-service teachers of the disadvantaged. These experiences are generally expected to give knowledge about the tasks involved and to develop positive attitudes. Let us examine some of them: The experiences in out-of-school agencies range from a few superficial visits to slum areas and the bringing in of resource speakers, to work as volunteers one hour a week, tutoring a child, working in poverty programs or Civil Rights projects, or serving in community centers as group leaders and in homework helper programs. These experiences with out-of-school agencies are intended to give the becoming teacher some idea of what the culture is like and what the children in such a culture are like.

Within the school there are experiences as part-time teaching assistants or as tutors. The tutor may have had some professional training through course work in teaching of reading, for example, or he may be completely unskilled, equipped only with a desire to help and an interest in children. Students often serve as teacher assistants or tutors to gain experience prior to their student teaching. The Urban Education Program at Syracuse University illustrates the use of such experiences. During the first (orientation) summer session, students are placed immediately in classroom situations and in the summer demonstration school, which is organized and operated by the Syracuse program. The demonstration school is housed in the Croton Elementary School, a neighborhood school that is located in and serves the predominantly Negro slum area of Syracuse. Students spend each morning during their first summer in an assigned classroom, under the guidance of selected experienced teachers who compose the demonstration school faculty. Here the students observe and directly experience the kinds of pupils and instructional problems that they will encounter as interns in their classrooms during the school year that follows. The summer experience helps the student to become familiar with "what is" in terms of curriculum, methods, and rules and regulations of the city schools.

Too, there are internships with or without previous student teaching experience. In Florida, where student teaching is called "internship," these experiences are accompanied by some payment for work in the school. The interns have a greater responsibility than the typical student teacher. In the Central Michigan situation there are three levels of prior experiences. At the junior year the student goes out as a teacher assistant and is paid 50 per cent of the salary of a regular teacher in the school system. At the senior year he becomes an extern, a role roughly similar to a student teacher's, and is paid 65 per cent of the beginning salary. At the fifth year he becomes an intern and/or teacher associate and is paid 80 per cent of a regular salary. Many of you are familiar with Harry Rivlin's plan at Fordham University, which includes three levels of direct experiences, each with increasing responsibilities and increasing pay. Especially when they are combined with seminars and coordinate course work, these programs of direct experiences represent real attempts to bring preparation nearer to reality for new teachers of the disadvantaged.

The third big class of modifications has been changes in program organization and structure, of which I shall mention only two or three. There are the seminars which link clinical experiences with knowledge components to promote analysis of teaching and planning for programs. Although most seminars provide for a flexible organization, not all have succeeded, for it takes tremendous skill to insure that the seminars serve the purpose of program unification and the promotion of inquiry.

Here I might note the use of institutes, workshops, and other special in-service programs. In the summer of 1965 there were 61 NDEA (National Defense Education Act) institutes and ten teacher-education programs financed by OEO (Office of Economic Opportunity). These institutes and workshops were planned to promote understanding of the life conditions of the disadvantaged and to develop necessary instructional skills, techniques, and materials. When it came time to evaluate the programs each was found to have accomplished much more of the former than of the latter. The participants were able to record many experiences which helped to influence attitudes. Yet when it came right down to "How do you actually teach children who have this kind of background? What adaptation needs to be made in the techniques of teaching, in skills, and in materials?" they found what we have previously stated: We just don't know much about teaching disadvantaged children.

The third type of modification I have listed is increased school-college cooperation in planning and supervising programs for preparing teachers for disadvantaged children. I think we have to agree that the present programs of cooperation mean that the schools are expected to "cool" while the colleges and universities "operate." For example, working with a group of parents the other day in composing a statement, I used the term "cooperation." They rejected it completely. They said, "That's a weasel word; it doesn't mean anything. You can say 'cooperation' and mean that one person goes ahead since the others are expected to agree." When we said "meaningful participation," however, we had a concept that was acceptable to the group.

At Wayne University (Detroit) the school, college, and community council in the teacher education center does have real if limited power. In St. Cloud, North Dakota, the school and the college council jointly administer funds paid by the college for student teaching. In New York, a school-community-university council has been operating and making decisions for some months now. I have sat through several sessions and I must admit that for the first few weeks all we did was to let everyone know what suspicions we had of one another. The university people were told that they really sat up on a hill and did not know what was going on. When it was proposed that a course in the teaching of reading be instituted for the staff of the high school to help them make reading a part of each of the high school courses in this very deprived community, we were told that no university professor could handle such a course.

But we sat and listened to each other Tuesday night after Tuesday night after Tuesday night, and things began to happen. The council comprises three representatives from the staff of the school, a representative of the departmental chairman, two union representatives, and representatives from the community, parents, Teachers College, and of the administration of the local school. I will always remember the night when one of the student members was chairman of the meeting. The group was getting pretty excited; two or three of the community ladies were outshouting everybody else. At one point in the discussion, Albert, the student chairman, stood up, pounded on the table, and said, "Ladies, you are disrespectful to each other. Will you please sit down so that I can call on the people one at a time?" They sat down. People are now talking to one another. They are beginning to be able to work with each one's having a vote and using it. Since they are beginning to recognize that they have power, they are willing to accept, to a limited extent, professional judgment.

I know that the present picture isn't bright, but neither, I think, is this answer: that the school system completely take over the program of teacher preparation. I can remember, if many of you can't, the Municipal Training School for Teachers which was staffed by system employees who trained teachers minutely and specially for that system. This was hardly the ideal way to produce creative and innovative teachers. (Incidentally, we still have some of these teachers around.) Although such control of teacher education might have great value as an education for our college teachers who would presumably be employed by the school system, I doubt that this would offset the dangers in preparing teachers for a

made it crystal clear that those who "make it" in inner city schools do so most frequently in spite of their training in school system and university. I would guess this will continue until we can work as a professional team, drawing on the strengths of each institution.

I would suggest that ways in which all members of the profession could collaborate – as I have defined it – in continuing education of teachers have not really begun to be defined. The school and the university must define their role and responsibility in society – and they are obviously different – and then proceed from an explication of role to an identification of the meaning of teacher education and how each institution can contribute to the creation of a viable program. Again, let us think in terms of levels of professional preparation and not in terms of preservice, in-service, and graduate education.

3. Perhaps it would be wise to think in terms of several phases of initiation to teaching, with appropriate support during each phase. Student teaching is one phase. Becoming an autonomous or semi-autonomous teacher is another. Learning to work with colleagues on a cooperative basis is yet another phase. It might not be unwise to think that persons becoming self-generating teachers might need a series of rather well-supported internships. The colleges and schools, it would seem, could by collaboration bring the necessary support to the teacher as he completes the "rites of passage."

It should be remembered, as we argue for maintaining vested interests and the status quo, that the three teachers (Chapman, Burbridge, Williams) said:

1. They had too many professional courses devoid of any field experiences and therefore less valuable than they potentially could have been.
2. They had practice-taught in situations totally unlike those in which they were placed when hired.
3. They were starving for help on such things as materials selection, organization of program, and most of all, getting appropriate feedback on the degree to which they were successful teachers.

Substantive Issues

It should be quite obvious that foundation courses in college programs are less than effective in preparing teachers to work with disadvantaged children. The implication is clear; change is needed. But to what? Where should the change be made? Is all that is necessary a greater relationship between field and text? I would suggest this is merely symptomatic.

1. All of us must insist that "disadvantage" be defined clearly and with specificity. If we define disadvantage on the basis of income-per-family, a child of the slum is disadvantaged. If we define it in terms of potential life-chances, he is more than likely disadvantaged. If we define it in terms of success in school, the same could be said, although we must be cautious until the child has been given his chance in school. The point I would make is that for all too long we have

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specific situation under the present conditions. To me there seems to be little sense in going from one unsatisfactory situation – control by institutions of higher education – to another equally unsatisfactory – control by the public school system. I, for one, would rather put my effort into the long, difficult, and frustrating task of devising ways to work together – and I mean really working together.

I am a professor of education. I happen to be rather proud of that title. It is perhaps a perverse kind of proudness, but I have another title of which I am also proud. When I go across the street to the Community Center I am greeted by the parents there as "Mrs. McGeoch." This is something that I have earned by being there, by spending time at the Center. They know that I am concerned about other people's children. So they have awarded me the title, not as "somebody from up there on the hill," but as "Mrs. McGeoch." The day that I begin to feel that my colleagues in the schools must have the title of "professor" in order to be accorded the status that they deserve, or when calling a person "professor" seems the only way to make visible the unique contributions of the classroom teacher, the supervisor, the administrator, to the parent or to the community member, then maybe I'll have to give up. I will have to give up what for me has been a life-long commitment to meaningful participation of schools and colleges in preparing teachers. Then I will be ready to agree with Hobert Burns in saying that the schools might as well take over, because they could not do worse than the colleges have done.

A fourth kind of special program that has emerged is concerned with the preparation of teachers to work with auxiliary personnel. It is a much neglected area. There are instructional aides, teacher aides, teacher assistants, volunteer aides, people-oriented and task-oriented aides, poverty program or school system aides. The preliminary report of the Study of Auxiliary School Personnel and their roles and training in instruction gives information on some of the demonstration projects that took place during the summer of 1966.

Many other organizations and innovations are not included here because they have so far resulted in very little additional information. Is the addition of a course in urban sociology or a seminar dealing with problems in depressed areas an effective modification of program content for the preparation of teachers for the disadvantaged? Should prospective teachers be enrolled in courses in the teaching of mathematics to the disadvantaged, or do the usual method courses apply? What is the relation between preservice and in-service preparation of teachers for this especially demanding assignment? Will valid evidence support the contention that an extended period of internship and gradual induction is needed? All of these questions suggest the extent of the gap that exists between what needs to be known about the preparation of teachers for the disadvantaged and what is now known and used

as the basis for action. And here is where I would like to come directly to what was suggested in the title of my address topic.

There are things that we have to know in order to make decisions about programs. Suppose we hypothesize for a start that a teacher should understand in some depth the environmental and cultural influences to which the pupil is exposed. Can we plan a program to test the hypothesis? We can plan courses or seminars in urban sociology, in anthropology, in psychology, or in the understanding of minority groups. We can plan to provide for a residence in the slum community as a volunteer community worker or we can arrange contacts with welfare case workers, social workers, and community service organizations. We can plan for what we think the teacher needs to know.

Yet when the experiences have been completed what do we really know? Is the young student able to relate to persons of different backgrounds? Is he open to new experiences? Does he more highly value the dignity of all human beings? What can the student do as a teacher after he has had these kinds of experiences? Can the student organize a classroom or work with bureaucratic structure or accept the responsibility for planning and carrying through learning activities for thirty-five youngsters?

And have these outcomes actually taken place, or have we simply deepened the prejudices already there, making the student all the more sure that there must be differences in people that separate them? Maybe the knowledge of some of the environmental limitations of his pupils will make him less likely to expect learning achievement from them. It may communicate the "self-perpetuating prophesy" that Kenneth Clark talks about, suggesting the children don't learn because the teacher thinks that they are not able to do so. No, we don't know these things; nor do we know how these experiences will influence the student's ability to function in the role of a teacher. Surely, we don't know very much about what the prospective teacher is going to be able to do.

Again we might hypothesize that if a teacher understands the role of the school in our present-day society, he will be able to perform better as a teacher in that school. Surely, we can give him knowledge in this area. We can teach philosophical and sociological foundations of education, treating the purpose of the schools and the relation of the school to the community and to the parent's participation. We can build in some direct experiences.

Let me give you an example. Many of you know that Teachers College is located just at the edge of Harlem. In former years I have usually taken a group of student teachers from our nearest public school to my apartment in a cooperative housing project erected in a calculated attempt to build an integrated community in the midst of low-cost housing. Up on the fourteenth floor we have looked out over the school and the surrounding buildings, talking about low-cost housing, tenements, and sociological aspects of the community. It was all very lovely, sitting up there drinking coffee, looking out over the community.

This year I took twelve student teachers to the Community Center to talk with a group of parents. These parents instructed the teachers on how to treat their children. In this lesson there was a tremendous amount of sincerity and real eloquence of speech, but there was also a bitterness and a lack of trust in the middle-class teacher regarding what she was likely to do to the Harlem youngster. Over and over again these parents were saying, "We want you to treat them just like other kids. Some of them are bad and you need to discipline them; some of them need to be brought out. They can do very good things and you need to give them a chance to do what they can do. What we want is that you treat them just like the other kids." This was pretty strong medicine for students just beginning teaching. The student teachers felt that it had been a very good experience for them, but we talked a long time about what the parents' comments had meant for teachers' behavior.

We also went to parent-teacher meetings where we heard the parents expressing their conviction that a white teacher could not possibly be unbiased toward a Negro or Puerto Rican child in the classroom. One parent said, "Well, in my son's classroom a white child makes a mistake and the teacher makes him say it over again until he says it right. But when a Negro child makes a mistake he just says it once and then she goes on to someone else." Others agreed that she was right.

Recently many of the student teachers have been meeting with parents who are organizing a boycott of the school out of extreme frustration with city authorities who are completely unwilling to listen. As teachers, we tried hard to understand what this community wanted of its schools and its teachers, what it conceived to be meaningful participation, what was meant when parents said that the teachers and the principals should be accountable to the parents. We tried to talk it all out. Now I am asking myself: What will this attempt to promote understanding of the really terrible complexities of the role of the school and its teachers in a modern urban community do to beginning teachers?

I know that there are several beginning teachers who no longer want to participate, and I suspect that if the boycott comes through, they will flee to the suburbs. There will be some of them that will go into the schools just as they have gone before – whether there are any children there or not – because they can't make up their minds where they do stand. There will be others who, at the risk of considerable difficulty to themselves and considerable disapproval of some of the authorities, will actually agree to teach in the "liberation school," if we have to have it. But again I am asking myself: What is it going to do for them? How is it going to influence them?

Even those who are more stable in dealing with the problems of the teacher's role, even the group that goes every night to work with the parents, will not

defined "disadvantage" in terms of the modal characteristics of that portion of our population having the largest incidence of school failure. Categorizing a youngster as educationally disadvantaged because he is a Negro who lives in an urban slum is to label prematurely.

2. Teachers must come to appreciate what we know about growth and development. The child of three is not like the child of twelve. The child who enters school at six, unprepared for success in school, is not the same as a child of twelve who has had six years of accumulated school failure. We are now fairly confident that a child who is educationally disadvantaged at age six need not be disadvantaged forever. The organism can change, and the direction of change can be influenced. Somehow, programs for teacher education must reflect this knowledge.

3. There is an apparent need for an increasing emphasis to be placed on the study of culture at all levels of teacher education. It is clear that people in poverty contribute the largest number of educationally disadvantaged children. We can classify the society any number of ways, but if we are interested in characterizing groups who are disadvantaged, none seems to be as significant as annual income per family. (This does not mean, nor ought it be interpreted to mean, that the disadvantaged are poor or that poor people are educationally disadvantaged. There may be a cause and effect relationship, but we can only guess about it at this juncture.) It would appear that there is a greater chance that if someone is educationally disadvantaged, he is also poor.

Sociologists and anthropologists have developed some rather interesting hunches about the existence of a culture of poverty that centers around the realization that one who is in poverty in the United States is, *de facto*, a failure. Again I am talking about groups of people – human groups who live and interact with each other, who share similar fears, values, attitudes and aspirations. Obviously there is a range of differences within each human group, so general statements about the group are not all-inclusive.

Assuming perception of failure to be a fact, what does it mean? First, it is a new fact. Only recently – in the past ten or twenty years – have we as a society maintained that one who does not complete school is unacceptable among those moving upward.

Second, the advent of television, instant visual communication, has created a whole new pseudo-culture, the world of the advertisement which screams to the poor, "You are a failure," not because they can't smoke Salems in an imaginary meadow, but because they must realize that they will never ever be able to do so. They are locked in, destined to stay, with no control over mobility, as they read the message.

We need to continue to study with teachers these dimensions of failure; for if what I have suggested exists, the behavior of the child, shaped from this culture, is carried to school. Related to this point is the notion of some anthropologists that there is both a person-centered culture and an object-centered culture

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necessarily be able to teach well in the slum school. There are certain teaching strategies and techniques that a teacher must be able to use effectively in the classroom. The teachers will have to be able to organize a classroom; they will have to be able not only to understand the teacher's role, but to perform in the teacher's role. Here is where we don't know much about how to help the beginning teacher. Yet we have a tremendous number of new methods and tools to help us in teaching strategies. We have various systems for analyzing teaching and providing conceptual models for analysis and remediation. We have videotape recordings, simulations, and micro-teaching. All of these help students to acquire certain skills, and they provide opportunities for analysis and feedback.

Although the revolution that has come about in our ability to know what goes on in teaching is only the beginning, it is a tremendous advance over what we knew before. With role-playing in a micro-teaching situation, any desired strategy, any way of working, can be programmed and learned. The laboratory with role-programmed students is a lot less complex than the tutoring or the small group situation. The small group situation is simpler than teaching a whole class as a student teacher – which is imperfectly related to the final complexity.

The techniques for analysis promote mastery. Like you, I have known students who were unable to resolve the complex relationships involved in thirty-five individuals, a projected learning situation, and the appropriate strategies for bringing them together in an organized classroom. Even though these students are very sensitive to the community and its children, and have a fair understanding of the role of the teacher and the school, they are not going to succeed unless they have learned teaching techniques and strategies for the classroom.

Our task then, as program planners, is to prepare the teacher to use learning strategies effectively and appropriately. We need another situation, beyond traditional student teaching, in which the beginning teacher can learn the complex skills, arts, and attitudes of teaching. We need a program that provides for continued study and growth, that provides the continued support and reinforcement necessary for the beginning teacher to survive while he continues to learn, to avoid adjusting too rigidly to teaching patterns which seem to work for him, to master some of the "whys" as well as the "hows."

We need to develop a program that will provide for continued study and growth during the beginning years of teaching. It is too easy to fail during the first year in a school in the disadvantaged area. Classes may be very large; supervision may have very little vision but a lot of prescription; opportunities for professional discussion or standard-setting with other teachers may be almost non-existent.

I have said a number of times that I don't worry quite so much about the beginning teachers who give up during the first six weeks of school as I do about

those who withdraw psychologically, who stay on and go to school every morning, living through it only to forget about it as soon as they can get out; who stay on, not being teachers at all, but simply holding down a job. Those are the people who are going to do the real harm. They have lost all vision, all idea of what teaching can really be about. For them each day becomes only a "getting-through" from nine to three without having the kind of commotion that would bring the assistant principal down the hall to investigate and deliver a rebuke. We need some way to modify the task of the beginning teacher and give him continued supportive contact with someone who can help him survive from day to day without completely losing his vision. Continuing support is needed for the student to grow as a teacher during the first several years. I believe that such support could make more difference in the quality of teachers than any other one thing that I can imagine.

Yet even this is not enough. We are finding that the beginning teacher has to understand not only his job and his children and the community, but also himself—his reactions, frustrations, and perceived failures. The teacher who is to help the child develop ego-strength needs awareness of his own person. What is he like? How can he develop self-knowledge? How can he understand the influence of his behavior on his pupils and assume responsibility for the nature of the interaction?

Teacher education for school personnel working with the disadvantaged needs to provide the opportunity for teachers to explore their attitudes and their beliefs in small group settings, in T-group sessions, or in professional individual counseling. Sheila Schwartz, writing in the February (1967) *Teachers College Record,* documents in a really terrifying way the need for teachers to understand the effects of their behavior. She cites a series of incidents as evidence that "teachers who cannot get ego gratification from student accomplishment learn to get it from student failure, and therefore resort to strategies designed to perpetuate failure." Can a teacher education program develop the kind of person who respects the dignity and integrity of every human being and demonstrates this respect, all the while demanding as a teacher the best the child can offer? There are those who say that basic attitudes are formed long before college age, and that attempts to change them at that point are pretty futile. It must be admitted that what little evidence we have seems to give support to this view. But do we know? Have we ever honestly tried to significantly influence teachers' attitudes—to assess the actual results of attitudinally influenced behavior? Have we ever really seriously faced the implications of our lack of knowledge?

So, as we plan programs for teachers of the disadvantaged, this is my message and my plea: let's try to avoid the pattern we have been following for years: assembling a lot of *good* courses, *good* experiences, *good* techniques, into a well-organized, tightly-packed four- or five-year program and then saying "Okay, here it is; you go through this, and, somehow, the day you get your degree you'll be a fully prepared teacher."

We need courses and experiences and programs, of course. But we need to try to determine what each of our approved practices can be expected to do in terms of desired behavior, and then to build in ways of finding out whether or not it does what it is supposed to do. We need to be willing to modify or discontinue the program component if it seems not to be having the results which it is planned to achieve. We need also to be aware that a carefully planned and evaluated program will reveal at every stage that some student teachers should not teach in depressed area schools; that they are not open to the kind of modification of attitudes and behavior which will enable them to grow and contribute in a slum school, or maybe any kind of school. And when we have this information we had better act on it, not letting a lot of soft-headed considerations such as sympathy for a student who must be redirected, or concern for the shortage of teachers, keep us from the indicated action.

We'll also find some students for whom some program components are not necessary or desirable. The principles of individual differences, of respect for unique persons, will dictate that programs differ. This will reveal the necessary flexibility of planning itself as we try to *plan* a program for this student, not to fit him into a preconceived mold.

Here then are the two sides. While we look at the student as he interacts with the program, we must also look at the program as it confronts the student. A thorough-going attempt to plan and evaluate program elements while providing for the flexibility needed for the beginning teacher as an individual, should result in teacher education which, though still not all that we'd like it to be, is vastly better than any we have achieved so far.

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(Professional position as of March, 1967)

in our society. The object-centered culture is made up of people who are aggressive, interested in getting ahead, making use of social institutions such as the schools to get "the good life," shaping and ordering society to our ends.

The person-centered culture consists of those people who for many reasons are not up-mobile and aggressive, and who, consequently, place great value on maintaining close personal relationships. They can't or don't use institutions or persons for self-aggrandizement. Suffice it to say that the educationally disadvantaged are more apt to be person-centered than object-centered.

The last point I would like to make about the need for emphasizing a study of culture is that many teachers will suffer shock when they meet the culture of a school wherein disadvantaged children are educated. Here is a new world, filled with values foreign and threatening to the norms most middle-class teachers embrace. Culture shock is heightened by culture conflict. Remember each of the three teachers said she was unprepared for what she met!

All I have said about the need for an increased emphasis on the study of cultural groups should not be interpreted as a contradiction of a need for clarity in defining disadvantage. On the contrary, we will come to understand and appreciate the full range of human response in *any* group as we study and learn about that group.

4. It was suggested before the meeting began that we restrict our concerns to the realities of the existing teaching situation. One can understand and have full sympathy for this position if he hopes for any kind of immediate action from the conference. It would be futile for example, to become overly concerned with the problem of classes of thirty-five disadvantaged children if there were no ways of reducing the load.

However, I must raise a question that to me seems to have implications for teacher education, yet treats issues that some might suggest defy solution. Is it possible that we are all engaged in trying to prepare teachers for an educational system that is archaic and, in terms of disadvantaged children, almost a guarantee of failure? Put it another way: is there an alternative to the present structure of American education which might prove more successful in the education of disadvantaged children?

I think there is an alternative. I am convinced, however, that until we divest ourselves of the encumbrances of false philosophies about the nature of education, about how it should be conducted, about relationships between what is known and what is to be discovered, we will not achieve a significant change in the structure of education. We educators must not be fearful of examining all possible options to the present ways in which children and teachers are organized and in which attitudes and knowledge are transmitted. Especially imperative is such examination in regard to the education of those children who are certain to fail under the present structure.

About the Workshop . . .

One hundred fourteen educational leaders from school systems, colleges, universities, and other educational associations from the Atlanta metropolitan area and throughout the South attended the Atlanta Area Workshop on Preparing Teachers to Work with Disadvantaged Youth, March 5-8, 1967, at Calloway Gardens, Georgia.

The workshop proposed to generate ideas for preservice and in-service teacher education programs that attend to the special problems of working with disadvantaged youth. The workshop was not intended to create, by itself, any changes in the participating institutions, nor did the participants come with an institutional commitment to adopt new programs. The workshop aimed, specifically, to convince the participants that teachers of disadvantaged children have special problems; to generate ideas or descriptions of model preservice and in-service programs for teachers; to establish program plans by having the participants themselves actually design teacher education programs. The workshop was planned to create such a commitment within the individual participant through a series of carefully designed experiences in general sessions and in small group sessions.

The general sessions presented addresses and papers from a panel of teachers, with commentary by a curriculum planner, then a series of addresses and papers from teachers of teachers. *This publication comprises these materials, together with the opening address to the participants.* The small group sessions assigned a sequence of tasks to each set of participants, in order to create actual program planning groups rather than discussion groups only. By the last session, several descriptions of possible teacher education programs had been produced.

Long range commitment to the results of the workshop were embodied in the creation of a task force, representing the school systems, colleges, and other organizations in the Atlanta area. Such a task force will encourage creation of new teacher education programs and will serve as the communication vehicle and forum for problems of common concern. Moreover, the workshop sponsors agreed to provide assistance in creating or revising teacher education programs in or between the school systems, the colleges, and the universities.

The four organizations which sponsored the Workshop were the Urban Laboratory in Education; the Atlanta Area Teacher Education Service; the Southern Association of Colleges and Schools; and the South Georgia component of the Southern Education Laboratory. Co-directors of the Workshop were Wilmer Cody, Director of Teacher Education for the Urban Laboratory, and Lynn F. Shufelt, Coordinator of the Atlanta Area Teacher Education Service. The Workshop was funded by the NDEA National Institute for Advanced Study in Teaching Disadvantaged Youth, Richard E. Lawrence, Director.